

U. S. BULLETS AND RIFLES MAKE BORDER CRIMES POSSIBLE.

Starvation Due to Cartridge Trade, Diplomat Asserts, in Last Analysis of Watchful Waiting

(Continued from First Page.)

Starvation kept the embassy constantly occupied with defending American interests against surreptitious and exclusive judicial attack upon American property, some of which were so open and brazen that the ambassador was compelled to call the attention of the President directly to the acts of his own family.

"After eight months of Madero government it became evident to every thinking man that the government must eventually fail, but no one knew how or when.

"The first revolution, which occurred under the leadership of Gen. Felix Diaz, was universally popular throughout the country and especially in the capital city, but Gen. Diaz allowed his opportunities to pass and gave the Madero people, under the direction of Ernesto Madero, time to call in sufficient soldiers to hold in awe the populace and to mass sufficient forces in Vera Cruz to prevent the entry of Diaz into the capital city, otherwise the revolution would have been successful at that time.

"It is an open and notorious fact that nearly all the Federal generals at this time were paid large sums of money by the government to remain loyal, especially Gens. Hank and Dash. Hank was paid \$50,000 by Felix Diaz to surrender Vera Cruz to the rebels, and the next day was paid \$100,000 to recapture it for the Federals, and Madero said that if he did not recapture it Dash would be sent and paid \$150,000. A few days after Dash and Hank together paid \$100,000 for a plantation in northern Vera Cruz.

"The Diaz uprising at Vera Cruz was suppressed. In February, 1912, the Diaz-Reyes rising in the city of Mexico began. Ambassador Wilson notes that 'Gen. Reyes was killed in the attack on the National Palace, not by a bullet from the front but by an assassin who shot from the rear and above. In the meantime the President was installed in the National Palace, and believing that or being informed that some of his officers were not true, he called them out and without trial or inquiry had them shot. Among this number was Gen. Hila, one of the most universally beloved soldiers in the Mexican army.

"On the second day it was reported that Madero was seized with a panic, and in spite of the remonstrances of all his friends tried to escape from the city, and did. Concealed in the tender of an engine, he went to the city of Cuernavaca, which was under the command of his most trusted military supporter, Gen. Angeles, to seek protection. Gen. Angeles remonstrated with him, and told him that his post of duty was in Mexico city, and that unless he returned there and showed a firm front all his friends would be demoralized and probably killed. This story may be untrue. I ought to say at this point that this is the only instance in which, to my knowledge, Madero showed any lack of courage. He was finally prevailed upon to return to Mexico city.

"Ambassador Wilson repeats the account already given in his despatches of his attempts, in association with other foreign Ministers, to protect life and property, and of the unofficial advice given to President Madero to resign. He narrates the efforts he made to save the life of the President and Vice-President Pina Suarez, and 'Having received instruction from Washington, went in company with the German Minister to again reiterate our Government's desire that no action should be taken against the President except by due process of law. Huerfano, except by the German Minister, in the presence of the President and Vice-President were in no danger, and that he authorized me to say to Mrs. Madero that they were in no danger.

"Returning to the embassy I found Mrs. Madero and Mr. Madero's sister there, where they had come evidently for the purpose of obtaining my influence with Gen. Huerfano in saving the President's life and in moderating the apparently severe rigor with which he was being treated. Mrs. Wilson was present at this interview, and I then returned again to Huerfano and reiterated what I had said before and asked him to place Madero in a more comfortable place. This he promised to do, again assuring me that his life was in no danger.

"Not content with this, I visited Mr. de la Barra and Mr. Vera Estanol, members of the Cabinet, and the Minister of War, Gen. Mondragon, and Gen. Flores, in command of the blue jacket, in command of the forces, urging that no act of violence be committed. In every case I was reassured. I did not see anything for Mrs. Pina Suarez, the wife of the Vice-President, who, I am glad to say, appreciated what was done for her.

"On the following day Mrs. Madero came again to the embassy, insisting that her husband's life was in danger, and I told her what Huerfano had said to me in the presence of Mrs. Wilson, and assured her that I was at her service in any possible way which she might think necessary. (These circumstances are known to the German, British and Spanish Ministers.)

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"In addition to these humanitarian acts which I performed for this unfortunate family, I kept three men employed for two days searching for the remains of Gustavo Madero, and I obtained permission for the widow of the President to take away his remains and superintend his interment.

"On the morning of February 23 my servant informed me that Madero and Pina Suarez had been killed in an attempt to rescue them while they were being transferred to the national pen-



Sixth Infantry reaching field headquarters after a six day march.



Making camp at Las Cruces after a thirty-two mile hike.

It is left all of my personal property, pictures, furniture, ornaments, library, jewelry and personal effects in the embassy, accepting the telegram of the Secretary of the State in good faith and supposing that I was called to Washington simply for the purpose of a personal interview with the President and being immediately returned thereafter until a more normal situation would be brought about.

"I arrived in New York on August 1 and found many reporters upon the dock seeking an interview with me. Believing that it was necessary to arouse the public opinion to the real situation in Mexico, I departed from my usual custom of absolute silence on diplomatic matters and expressed my views with some clearness and to some extent on the instruction of the press, avoiding, however, any criticism whatever of persons or of any superior officers. Many of the newspapers published accounts of the interview, which were evidently inspired by other sources and were absolutely untrue.

"I directed these telegrams to be repeated to the adjacent consulates and that they should say to the military officers immediately in charge of the situation that they would be held personally responsible to the Government of the United States for any offense against MacDonald or a failure to punish those who had assaulted Dixon. These telegrams had the effect of causing the release of MacDonald and his associates and of military execution of those who had committed the assault on Dixon, for which the Administration claimed great credit a few days later in the newspapers, but the truth of the matter is that if it had been left to its own devices nothing would have been accomplished.

"I spent Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in the Department of State occupied in assisting the Latin American division in the disposition of various important Mexican matters. On Friday night I went to New York for the purpose of keeping some important engagements, more of a business than a political character. Sunday afternoon I spent with some friends, and upon returning to the hotel about 11 o'clock at night I found Mr. Bryan's telegram asking me to return to Washington.

"As I had been asked to go away on a definite leave of absence, there being an evident desire to have me somewhere than in Washington, I immediately accepted of this summons to return to Washington on Monday morning and went to the Department of State at 10:30, where I found Mr. Bryan awaiting me.

"Without very much delay he introduced the subject of the meeting, and with apparent confusion and embarrassment informed me that the Department had decided to accept my resignation as Ambassador to Mexico. I said to him without the slightest hesitation that I had expected this result, but that inasmuch as I had tendered my resignation three times while in Mexico and as the President had had opportunity to accept it while I was there, I considered it only just that in his notice of acceptance of my resignation he should express some recognition of the character of the service which I had rendered the Government for seventeen years and which had the approval of President Wilson.

"I told the Secretary also that I had just then given to the press Mr. Taft's letter of indorsement, and that as I regarded this whole matter as an American matter and not as a political matter I thought it fair to ask that commendation substantially the same in character should be given me by President Wilson.

"The Secretary replied that I must not expect the President to entirely accept the views of President Taft. I replied that I could not understand

why he should not accept them, as President Taft was in charge of the situation from the time I became Ambassador to Mexico until the occurrence of the conditions which brought in the present administration in Mexico, and as I had been especially commended by him, and by Presidents Roosevelt and McKinley before him, I thought that I was at least entitled to a certificate of good character from President Wilson.

"The Secretary seemed to be impressed and said that he would carry this question immediately to the President together with three other points which related to my business relations with the Department, for his decision I met him again in an hour, when he informed me that the President approved of the suggestion I had made with reference to the Government's responsibility to me in certain business matters, but that he declined to change the form or wording of the notice to be given to the press accepting my resignation, stating, moreover, at the same time, that the President was of a perfectly open mind regarding the matter, but that as he was not in possession of all the facts, he was not able to go further in a public declaration than he had done.

"I stated to the Secretary that this incident would undoubtedly make a disagreeable impression upon the public and appeared to be dictated by a personal feeling. This he seemed to think of no consequence, but immediately addressed himself to the matter of my future movements, suggesting that I should not return to Mexico for the purpose of settling up my personal affairs and that the Government would assume responsibility for any damage to or loss thereof.

"The matter of indirect loss by failure to make intelligent disposition of my property, after placing it out of my power to do so, did not seem to occur to him and I was thus left with all of my affairs unsettled and in a general state of uncertainty as to whether I should denude the embassy and make it an impossible place for my successor or a place of refuge for Americans, in case of disorder. This interview with Mr. Bryan was not a pleasant one, though I believe that he desired to do what was right and that the restraint on his action came from other sources.

"I was requested by Senator Bacon to appear before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for the purpose of giving evidence on the Mexican situation. I appeared upon the date requested and told the story of what had occurred in Mexico as clearly as possible, making, as I was told by Democratic and Republican Senators, a profound impression upon the committee; indeed the impression created was so great that it immediately inspired a spirit of rebellion against the attitude of the Administration, and when Chairman Flood of the House committee invited me to appear before that body the President intervened by telephone and requested Mr. Flood to cancel the invitation as he wanted no further exploitation of my views.

"In reviewing President Wilson's Mexican policy and its results Ambassador Wilson said: 'My memorandum reached the President before he made his celebrated address to a joint session of Congress on August 27, 1913, in which he declared the failure of the mission of John Lind, asked that Americans remain out of Mexico, and said: 'We cannot in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now divides Mexico or constitute ourselves a virtual umpire between them.'

"At the same time President Wilson was making active aid to Gen. Carranza because of the pressure that he was placing upon Huerta. The mistakes of the Administration since the original error in refusing to support organized government in Mexico have been

cumulative and their reasons for being are bound up with the great original error. There have been new errors and errors in the attempts to correct former mistakes, but through all of them runs the fundamental error that the Government of Mexico should be a personal government entirely satisfactory to President Wilson.

"There has been much ado about helping humanity, and in the meantime Mexico has been destroyed. There has been much ado concerning democracy and a free election, while Mexico has never had an in a present state of civilization cannot have a democracy, and an election free from restraint is absolutely unknown. The more glaring errors throughout the whole policy, briefly summarized, are:

"1. The new doctrine that government owes its origin to violence would not be recognized by this Government. This doctrine was applied to Mexico, but it was forgotten when the case of Vera Cruz came up, and it was also forgotten in the case of Huerta. These inconsistencies caused doubts of President Wilson's sincerity in practically recognizing the common principle of civilization that no government can be based upon violence.

"2. The supporting of rebels against organized government. This has stimulated the revolutionary movements under their various heads and is directly responsible for the destruction of millions of dollars worth of property and thousands of human lives. It has financially ruined thousands of Americans and afforded great advantages to European investors. It has further disturbed and amplified the existing disorder and has made it impossible to make any progress in the settlement of the Mexican situation.

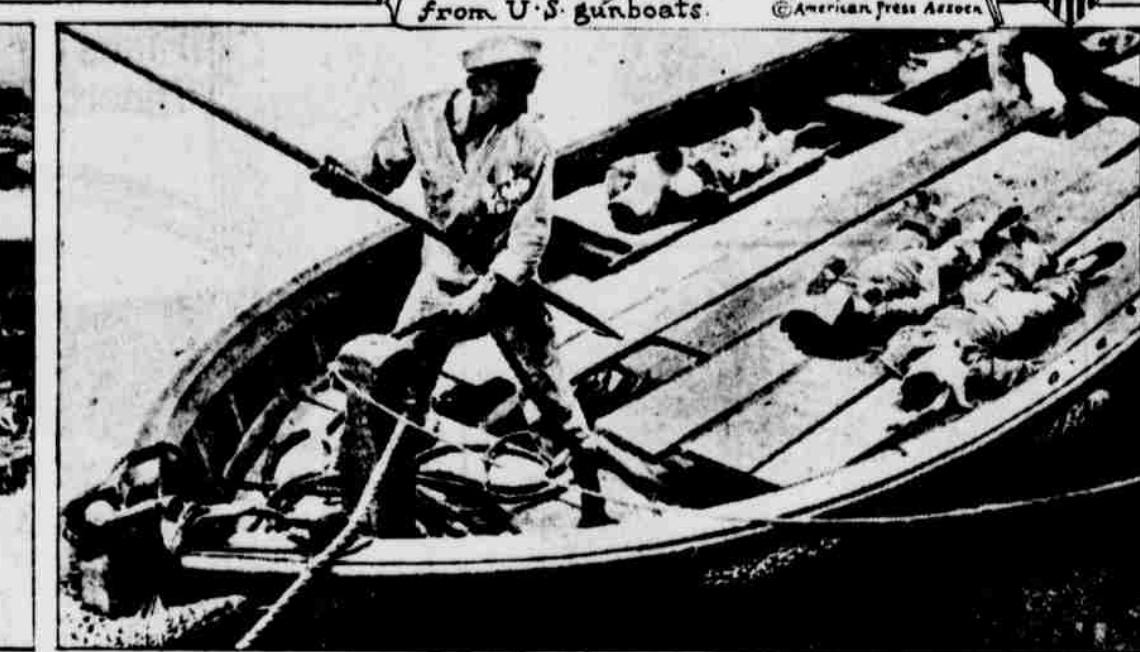
"3. The dispatch of the mission of John Lind and his numerous successors to carry personal messages and to obtain personal information for the President of the United States. These messengers were appointed without the approval or the consent of the Senate and constituted intervention of the most pernicious description. For instance, in the case of Mr. Lind, the representations which he bore had already been presented and refused, but to make matters even worse, once Mr. Lind had failed in Mexico, he was kept in the country, becoming merely a source of irritation.

"4. The intervention to destroy the financial credit and standing of Mexico. President Wilson made it known that it would be personally displeasing to him to have citizens of foreign countries make matters even worse, yet he sent envoys to the rebels. And take, for instance, the battle of Torreon. There Villa had arms and munitions, and his field guns were operated by Americans, while at the same time nearly one-half of Huerta's troops went into the battle without ammunition.

"There is not a crime committed in Mexico to-day that is not made possible by American bullets. Every murder is committed with them. Every



Bluejackets on guard at door of Naval Academy wrecked by shells from U.S. gunboats.



Bringing the bodies of three dead sailors to the Battleship "Vermont" after the battle at Vera Cruz.

shot fired across our border at soldiers, militiamen or civilians is American made.

"The country has been stripped of food which was sold to buy American bullets. The work oxen have been killed and skinned for the sale of the hide to buy more American bullets. So the starvation of long suffering Mexicans is due to the American cartridge trade. For the purchase of American bullets and rifles the food has been sent out of the country, and the growing of more food has been made impossible. The trade should have been stopped long ago. Mexico would now live at peace and there would be food in the land.

"Finally, the episode, which by a violent interpretation was made to appear like an intentional insult to our flag, occurred at Tampico, and our war vessels were sent to Mexico for the purpose of compelling the person whom we had not recognized as President to salute the flag. Out of this grew the unfortunate incident of Vera Cruz, where the lives of twenty-one American sailors and 300 Mexicans were sacrificed in the attempt to prevent the landing of a cargo of ammunition for Huerta, which was afterward landed at Puerto Mexico and repelled Huerta's hands.

"As a reflex action of this armed intervention into the affairs of Mexico Americans were attacked all over the world, and at Tampico 2,000 of them collected at one place for protection against the mob, which was assembling with violent intentions. At this critical moment our naval vessels, under orders from Washington, not only refused food to these unfortunate people, but finally sailed away to avoid a collision with the mob, and the bravery of the captain of a German ship then in the harbor, these people owed their escape from massacre.

"The logical result of the uncompromising attitude of our Government eventually destroyed Huerta of the show of force, and with him the downfall of all organized government in Mexico. Since the resignation of Huerta and his withdrawal from the scene Mexico has been a chaos, a charnel house, the scene of a savage and barbarous conflict, in which the interests of all classes of society, rich and poor, have been sacrificed to the selfish ambitions of rival bandit chiefs, who are not only enemies of law and order but of decency, virtue, religion and industry.

"None of these savage chieftains have had nominal control over Mexico since Huerta fell, and today sixteen different chieftains in different parts of the country are contending for supremacy. Over 200,000 lives have been sacrificed and probably a billion dollars worth of property in the effort of this Administration to make credit statements of constitutional government.

"As a sequel to the Vera Cruz incident came the Niagara Falls conference. In the midst of its perplexities and confronted by the situation brought about by its own mistakes, the Administration has been forced to resort to calling into its deliberations for a second time the representatives of certain Latin American States for a consultation, having for its object a common action in Mexican affairs. From the moment it took this unfortunate step all possibility of securing a peaceful settlement of the Mexican situation was lost, and by the exercise of sound statesmanship was lost, as the power to decide the question of our duties and obligations in Mexico was thus delegated to an assembly of acreable Latin American gentlemen, whose governments interests were not at all in accord with ours, and who, as a rule, have vastly less information on Mexican matters than the Administration itself.

"Moreover, it should not be forgotten that these so-called Pan-American representatives are accredited in Washington from governments similar in type to the Government established and maintained by Gen. Diaz in Mexico, and that they are on that account bound to look with disfavor upon revolutionary methods and movements in Latin American States approved by the Government at Washington, and which may at any moment be initiated, with the hope of Washington encouragement, in their own countries.

"I do not wish to be understood as criticizing the form of government which prevails almost universally in Latin America. On the contrary, I believe that these governments are best calculated for the happiness of these various peoples and the progress of their countries. Mexico, which was happy, prosperous and orderly under Diaz, furnishes a very clear proof of what I am saying.

"The point I am making is that the President, having invited these gentlemen to participate in the discussion of Mexican questions, has asked the Government to accept their line of procedure, which it should have been obvious would be limited to prayerful and beseeching appeals to the Mexican factions, or he must initiate an independent action contrary to their advice and certain to bring about Latin American disapproval. The situation which therefore has been brought about by the unwise invitation to the Latin American governments to participate in these deliberations is lamentable and a real damage to our American prestige.

"Our hands are tied when we should be free agents, and the dreadful situation in Mexico, which has been brought about by our officious and misguided intermeddling, will be made infinitely worse by the delays and vacillations emanating from academic discussion of principles and policies which have nothing to do with the real Mexican question.

"The recognition of Carranza was another error, the results of which are already apparent. Carranza is an entirely insincere, weak old man whose power is founded upon the unbridled forces which he uses to his troops. His particular political beliefs are of the smallest possible moment, because every Mexican politician will adopt any kind of belief that seems popular for the moment. Take the record of history.

"Porfirio Diaz went into office with the battle cry of 'no reelection' and continued to be elected for thirty years. Madero had the slogan of 'effective suffrage and no reelection.' No elections worthy of the name were held while Madero was in power, and he was killed by the forces which he was working on a scheme to change the constitution that he could be re-elected, he having decided that he was only finishing out the unexpired term of Diaz, and therefore had not lost his right to reelection.

"Madero was not in a state of war, and had no army. The only army has been between the Ins and the Outs, with a very small fraction of the population under arms.

"There is another cry which has been raised which concerns intervention, the cry that the interests and rights of the foreign investor have been discovered the identity of the interests; it is distinctly against the interests of the foreign investor to have other than Mexican rule. When it becomes a question of safety, those naturally those who have property interests are protected, but all people of strong capable Mexican character are to our Government. Their reasons for this as given to me are frank. They do not want to be exploited by any kind of corrupt bag regime, and they also do not care to pay American wages.

"In August, 1913, I presented plans to President Wilson, and titled 'recognition' and the other 'intervention.' These plans are as yet to-day as they were when they were prepared. They are my recommendations for the alternative courses which should be pursued by Mexico, and care to serve humanity in the concrete and not humanity in the abstract.

"If either of these plans had been adopted Mexico to-day would be a peaceful nation, and the money which has been spent for powder and shot would have been used to build a strong and stable Mexican Government to have sufficiently established a national system which would permit Mexico to govern itself.

"There has never been a constitutional election in Mexico and there never will be until a radical change is made in the habits and education of the people. The work of making the nation democratic must be begun at the bottom and not at the top. We cannot justly saddle an ignorant nation with responsibilities which are borne with difficulty by highly educated men. The United States, by the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, stands upon quicksand as it expects a constitutional election under the present conditions in Mexico.

"What is the present situation? The Wilson Administration follows its singularly perverse Mexican policy, which recently resulted in the death of all the practice of democracy finally accepted as the chief executive authority in Mexico a purely military autocracy which governs through force and not by virtue of law—a government which has an authority over less than a third of Mexico and which is without a shadow of a moral right to govern, having placed this authority in power has our Government let it work out its own affairs?

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200,000 Lives and Billion Dollars Cost of Efforts to Make Students of Savages

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